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ABSTRACT

Algeria and Tunisia, where newspapers in both French and Arabic have large circulations, were used as case studies to test ideas about elite journalism. It was hypothesized that if French language newspapers appealed to the intelligentsia and opinion leaders, then their content should be serious and responsible; and that, by contrast, the Arabic press should have popular, nationalistic content. Following a content analysis of more than 2,000 stories appearing in 2 Tunisian newspapers (1 French and 1 Arabic) and 2 Algerian newspapers (1 French and 1 Arabic), rankings of content type were drawn up for all 4 publications. Content types considered were (1) foreign activities of the home country, (2) events in the home country involving foreign participants, (3) news of countries other than the home country, and (4) other international news. The results indicated that none of the four newspapers was dominated by stories with mass-appeal topics such as sports, crime, or entertainment. On the contrary, all four emphasized "elite" topics such as international and domestic politics and economics. Further analysis indicated that theme rankings within each country correlated strongly and significantly, while correlations within language correlated weakly. The findings call into question prevalent thinking about elite newspapers. (FL)

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French-language Newspapers in the Arab World: An Elite Press?

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I. INTRODUCTION

> In every major country one newspaper, and often two or three, stands out as a journal of elite opinion, catering to the intelligentsia and the opinion leaders, however variously defined. [1]

Elite newspapers are taken seriously. They are the kind "which libraries and universities in all countries feel must be made available to their students."[2] Because of their importance, they are indexed, microfilmed, content analyzed and otherwise dissected by researchers in various disciplines.

The Elite Press and The World's Great Dailies outline certain hallmarks of elite and mass newspapers.[3] The mass press offers scattershot items rather than a synthesized look at the world--short, disorganized snippets of this and that. At its most extreme, it is trivial, entertaining, splashy, superficial, alarmist, voyeuristic, sensationalistic and gossipy. It emphasizes personalities over ideas, atypical incidents of conflict over long-range trends. It tends to create envy, suspicion and nationalistic feeling rather than emphasizing similarities between nations.

The elite press, on the other hand, is reliable, responsible, serious, carefully edited, influential, well printed and dignified in makeup. It goes beyond reporting facts to include background, point out trends and indicate future implications. While analytical, it is never academic or boring. It evidences concern for humanity and social progress. Its strong, lively editorials are rooted in a continuing policy. Its outlook is international.

We may define the elites who read these newspapers as people who affect policies and public opinion in political, economic or cultural matters.

These influentials--"public officials, scholars, journalists, theologians, lawyers and judges and business leaders"[4]--are "better educated and have a greater interest in public affairs than the average readers of the mass (or popular) press."[5]

Identifying the world's top-flight elite newspapers--the New York Times, The Times of London, Pravda, Le Monde and a handful of others--has presented few problems. The "recurrence of certain names in the lists and surveys"[6] of elite journalism shows clear agreement as to which papers belong, which do not. The constraint of government control does not automatically eliminate a newspaper; however, most of Merrill's "50 best" dailies are free. For this and other reasons, newspapers in Third World countries are largely excluded.[7]

But exclusion from the charmed circle does not deem Third World newspapers unworthy of study. They may still "have many features of the elite."[8] The press exhibiting those features will hereafter be called "elite-appeal journalism."

If the West's elite press merits extensive study, then the Third World's elite-appeal press deserves at least some attention. Even more so than in the developed world, "most developing countries are ruled directly or indirectly by small and powerful elites."[9] This group has a disproportionately large share of land, capital, education and income. Since income in most Third World nations is much less equally distributed than in developed nations, the "rich individual can dictate the overall pattern of production, since his demand preferences carry more weight in the consumer goods market than those of the poor person."[10] Furthermore, in many countries, the distribution in recent years has gotten more unequal, not less.[11]

Thus Third World elites and their sources of information "matter." [12] And within the Third World, the Arab World clearly is of interest. As columnist Meg Greenfield writes of the Islamic nations in general, "No part of the world is more important to our own well-being at the moment," and "no part of the world is more hopelessly and systematically and stubbornly misunderstood by us." [13]

Our lack of understanding extends to the Arab world's mass media. William Rugh's book The Arab Press[14], the first in English to systematically treat mass media in the 18 nations of the Arab world, was published in 1979. The only previous book by a Westerner came out in 1952, treating the media in just five states (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt).[15]

We may define any elite-appeal newspapers in terms of their content. They should, according to Merrill, emphasize four types of news:

1) politics/ international relations

2) business/ economics

3) education/ science/ culture

4) the humanities, especially the fine arts, literature, philosophy and religion. [16] Moreover, when studying Arab World elite-appeal newspapers, we need to also consider the special role of language. The coexistence of foreign and native languages, a legacy of colonialism, remains especially strong in the Arab World.

There, elites' fluency in two or more languages contrasts with high illiteracy among the masses; it was 73 percent among adults (aged 15 and over in the Arab World in 1975. [17] Patai notes that the political elites of the Arab World, except those of the Saudi Arabian peninsula, are usually bilingual and bicultural to such an extent that one can speak of their split

personality (izdiwaj). The elites' Western orientation creates a vast gulf between them and the Arab masses.[18]

In addition to Arabic, the elites of the eastern Arab world speak English (or both French and English), while those in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (the Maghreb) speak French. The press of nine Arab nations reflects this linguistic diversity. In Egypt and Lebanon, Arabic newspapers account for the lion's share of circulation. (See Table I.)

But in all three Maghreb nations, French-language circulation tops that of Arabic. (This does not mean, of course, that more people speak

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TABLE I ABOUT HERE

French than Arabic; Arabic newspapers are passed around more and are often read aloud in villages, coffee houses or factories.)[19] Thus the Maghreb would seem to present a ready-made laboratory to test the differences between an elite (French) and mass (Arabic) press.

II. HYPOTHESES

If Patai is right, the elite newspapers--those read by the bilingual, well-educated, internationally minded intelligentsia of the Maghreb--will be those in French; the mass newspapers, those in Arabic. If Merrill is right, this elite press will pay more attention to certain types of serious coverage, exhibiting a diet of news quite different from that of the Arabic press.

Furthermore, Merrill implies that distinguishing traits of elite and mass newspapers hold across national borders, especially in similar cultures (i.e., the National Enquirer of the U.S. has a diet similar to that of the British tabloid the Daily Mirror, while the Times of London resembles neither of these as much as it resembles the New York Times). By analogy, the foreign-language newspapers, if elite, should exhibit more similarities to each other than to the indigenous, mass-appeal Arabic press.

We can restate the above ideas in terms of the following hypotheses:

1-Topics. The foreign-language press should give relatively greater emphasis to politics, economics and culture/science, while the Arabic press should emphasize sports/entertainment, police/crime and human interest content.

2-Themes. The foreign-language press should give relatively greater emphasis to news relating to aid/development, energy/ecology and the superpowers, while the Arabic papers should emphasize national pride, atrocities, corruption and ideologies.

3-Correlations. The match of topic and theme rankings should be higher across languages than within countries.

4-Themes vs. Topics. The strongest correlations showing cross-language rather than in-country agreement should appear in themes rather than topics; themes represent interpretations of the news, whereas topics are given properties of the news.

III. METHOD

This study compares a Tunisian French-language daily (La Presse--circulation 30,000) and an Arabic daily (Al 'Amal--"Action"--27,000) with an Algerian French-language daily (El Moudjahid--"The Warrior"--150,000) and an Arabic daily (Al Sha'ab--"The People"--40,000).

Of those nations in the Arab world with a foreign-language daily press, Tunisia and Algeria lend themselves well to comparison. They share a similar culture, geography, ethnic composition, religion and colonial experience with France. While it controlled the Maghreb, France allowed European-owned newspapers, but suppressed indigenous ones because of their nationalist sentiments.

Today both Algeria and Tunisia have a small (Algeria: four newspapers; Tunisia: five newspapers), controlled national press system. In a study of 117 press systems, Algeria ranked 6 and Tunisia 5 on a 9-point scale, where 1 equalled "most free."[20] Controlled newspapers may still rank among the elite, according to Merrill. He calls those in open societies "quality" newspapers and those in closed societies "prestige" newspapers. Papers in free societies promote dialogue; those in closed societies give guidance.[21]

The data used come from that part of the UNESCO National Images project which was carried out by the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina--Chapel Hill. After the 1976 UNESCO General Assembly meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, UNESCO asked the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) to study the quantity and quality of international news in various countries' media. UNC, using a content analysis scheme developed by IAMCR members, surveyed media of 13 countries and the United States.

This paper draws on only two types of a plethora of information which was coded for each article: topics and themes (concepts). A total of 2,295 stories was coded for the Algerian and Tunisian newspapers which concern us here. The study covered one continuous week (April 23-29) and one composite week (April 2, April 17, May 2, May 17, June 16) in 1979.

Four types of stories were considered: 1) those dealing with the home country's activities abroad; 2) events in the home country involving foreign actors or situations; 3) news abroad not involving the home country; and 4) other international news. No purely domestic stories were coded.

Each article could be coded for the presence of up to four topics, four types of actors and four themes. The 47 possible topics were collapsed after coding down into 12 categories; the 34 types of actors, into nine; and the 33 themes, into ten. Stories were converted to a standard width to make lengths comparable.

Two rankings were drawn up for each newspaper, listing the percent of stories which included particular themes and topics. Spearman rank-order correlations were computed to assess the strength of association for the four topic and four theme rankings--in each case, for within-country and also for within-language (cross-national) comparisons.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1-Topics. The left-hand column of Table II lists topics according to their prominence in the largest-circulation paper in the sample, El Moudjahid of Algeria, along with rankings of them in the other three papers. This French newspaper does match the expected pattern for an elite paper, with "serious" topics being more often mentioned than "lighter" topics.

However, these findings do not support Hypothesis 1. The French-language paper from Algeria most closely matches the Arabic-language paper from Tunisia, not the French one from Tunisia. Indeed, no paper in the sample shows a mass-appeal pattern; the highest any mass-appeal topic ranked was slot 5, the position held by sports/entertainment in the Arabic Al Sha'b and the French La Presse. If anything stands out, it is the similarity of diet which all four serve up to their readers, language notwithstanding.

TABLE II ABOUT HERE

2-Themes. Table III lists rankings of themes for each newspaper. The IAMCR group which designed the coding scheme included this category to pick up "new angles" and "conceptual frameworks" which "may not emerge from the classification of topics and other coding." It is a subjective category. Clearly, the French-language coder saw more themes than did the Arabic-language coder.

The findings do not support Hypothesis 2. Indeed, the superpowers theme, which should rank high for the French papers, shows up in last place in the French-language El Moudjahid. Similarly, ideologies should rank high for

the Arabic dailies; however, it stands high only for both Algerian papers, while coming in at rank 8 for both Tunisian papers.

Again, the most striking characteristic to emerge is a similarity across all four papers--in this case, the high salience of pride among all four.

TABLE III ABOUT HERE

3-Correlations. Table IV lists Spearman rank-order correlations for the mentions of topics and themes as presented in Tables II and III. Spearman's rho (r) assesses the strength of association between two variables; it can tell us, as in this study, whether two apparently similar rankings of cases are in fact similar, and how similar they are.

TABLE IV ABOUT HERE

a.Topics- The data partially support the idea that agendas associated with the French language are more strongly related than internal national agendas, since the correlation of topics in French papers across borders is higher than that of the Algerian papers. Support also exists for the idea that the Arabic language influences content; the correlation of topics in Arabic-language papers across borders is strong--.93.

The .92 figure suggesting strong internal ties within Tunisian newspapers is difficult to explain in light of the above correlations, but it makes sense when set against the correlations below.

b Themes- These findings exactly reverse what was discovered for topics. Here, within-country factors affect newspaper content much more strongly than the power of language to operate across national

borders. The split is unambiguous (within countries, .89 and .83; across languages, only .56 and .45).

4-Themes vs. Topics. The findings in b) above probably have more meaning for the topic at hand than those in a), since the themes tell us more about gatekeepers' biases or worldviews than do the topics. Beyond the initial decision to accept or reject a news item, gatekeepers do not have as much control over its intrinsic properties, i.e. who was involved and what type of event it was, as over what the event meant. The news of President Boumedienne of Algeria's death in 1979 contained a given actor and topic, but a theme like national pride could be included or not at a gatekeepr's discretion, especially in a controlled newspaper with a government line to dispense.

Thus we can look most closely for insights at the themes findings, which do not support the idea of language affecting content. Rather, they tell us that factors within a country influence content more.

In sum, the findings in Table IV using Spearman's rho can be seen as agreeing with those in Tables II-III: none of them supports the original hypotheses.

However, we are left with some intriguing results apart from our interest in French newspapers as an elite press. While we cannot call Arabic a language of mass-appeal journalism on the basis of this study, we can say that gatekeepers working for Arabic-language papers seem to be choosing a highly correlated diet (at the .93 level) of news items, at least in terms of news topics. It is a diet rich in international and domestic politics, military and defense news and news of national political leaders and the populace.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Most Westerners would probably expect French-language newspapers published in the Arab world to have more elite characteristics than those in Arabic. The results of this study suggest otherwise: readers within a country receive a diet of similarly colored news, language notwithstanding. Furthermore, none of the newspapers studied exhibited a distinctly mass-appeal diet--one dominated by human interest, disaster, sports/entertainment and police/crime news. If we had to affix labels, we might regard all four Algerian and Tunisian dailies as elite-appeal newspapers, considering their uniform emphasis on international politics, domestic politics and economics.

Since this study suffers from problems of internal and external validity, we present these findings as tentative. But it does underscore the need to tackle more carefully the questions posed in the introduction to this paper. Only minimal research on mass media of the Third World in general and Arab world in particular has appeared in English.[22] Even our recently aggrandized interest in the Arabs has not yet brought a surge of studies about their media.[23]

The debate over the new world information order--which prompted the National Images project that generated the data analyzed here--has already brought Western researchers in contact with Third World journalists and media planners. The revised declaration on the mass media, passed unanimously at the 20th UNESCO General Conference in Paris in November 1978, provides for Western assistance in training Third World journalists. The Third World

delegates agreed to wording in the declaration endorsing freedom of the press rather than government control partly because of these offers of help.

Westerners should not assume that media systems and practices which work in the West will survive a transfer to the less developed countries (LDCs). Furthermore, by learning from social scientists who have preceded them, media experts can avoid the trial-and-error method of finding out what works the way it "should" in the LDCs and what does not.

Educational systems modelled after those in the West, for example, seem actually to retard development, partly because their curricula do not deal with development problems and partly because they divert funds from rural anti-poverty projects to subsidies for well-to-do students in universities. Likewise, the Keynesian solution to unemployment--government-created jobs--has actually increased both inflation and urban unemployment in LDCs as people flock into cities from their farms.[24]

As Gunnar Myrdal stated in Asian Drama, "When theories and concepts designed to fit the special conditions of the Western world . . . are used in the study of underdeveloped countries, where they do not fit, the consequences are serious."[25]

What concepts about elite-appeal journalism might not transfer well from the First to Third World? What may distinguish elite-appeal journalism in LDCs? What special role does elite journalism play in LDCs? The present study suggests a reassessment of current ideas about elite journalism along the following lines:

1. Because illiteracy is as high as 95 percent in some LDCs, the "shape" of journalism may be an inverted pyramid (a preponderance of elite-appeal newspapers, few mass-appeal papers), rather than the upright pyramid that Merrill posits.

2. A large percentage of newshole devoted to international affairs may characterize all newspapers, not just the elite, because LDCs' substantial "dependence on foreign economic, social and political forces. . . touches almost every facet of life."[26]

3. LDC newspapers may appeal to elites, yet still be nationalistic (contrary to what Merrill says), because of the developmental goals shared by masses and elites alike. (Note the high position of the "pride" theme for all newspapers on Table III.)

4. All journalists, not just those on elite newspapers, may have an international outlook because of the " 'outward-looking' orientation of many LDC professionals"[27]--even to the extent of finding problems of underdevelopment and rural poverty not intellectually compelling.

5. The elite audience in LDCs, while clearly distinct from the rural, poor majority, may be more fragmented than in developed countries and thus not rally around one newspaper as Merrill suggests. The elite consists of a wealthy group, an over-educated but unemployed group and a reformist student group.

6. An LDC newspaper may be elite while not looking elite; due to a small private sector (except in Latin America) and lack of ads, budgets may not permit the equipment and newsprint that make for a dignified appearance, whether the paper is privately owned or government sponsored.

7. The role of female elite readers will vary more from country to country in LDCs than in the West, and so affect elite content aimed at them.

8. Newspapers in a foreign language are not necessarily more elite than those in a country's native language, as this study seems to show. Indeed,

the concentration on foreign languages, beginning in primary schools in LICs, has been roundly criticized.[28] This writer discovered while living in Tunisia that very few people could not speak French fluently, no matter what their age, education or status.

While research may disprove some of the above statements, our best guesses suggest that more of Western ideas on elite journalism do not hold true for the Third World than do.

NOTES

[1]John C. Merrill, The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World (New York: Pitman, 1968), p. 12. The same quote appears in John C. Merrill and Harold A. Fisher, The World's Great Dailies: Profiles of Fifty Newspapers (New York: Hastings House, 1980), p. 10.

[2]John C. Merrill, Carter R. Bryan and Marvin Alisky, The Foreign Press: A Survey of the World's Journalism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 14.

[3]The material appears in Merrill, op. cit., chapters 1-3, and Merrill and Fisher, op. cit., pp. 3-43. Merrill and Fisher call their 1980 work "a new book and not simply a revision" (p. xi). They have revised and updated the newspaper profiles (these profiles form the bulk of both the 1968 and 1980 books) and made some changes in the General Introduction. For example, the word "elite" has been removed from all chapter titles, and chapter 4, with its Elite Press Pyramid dividing newspapers into four ranked groups, has been omitted altogether.

However, the thrust of and ideas in the introduction are basically unchanged in the 1980 version. Both the concept of elitism and the word "elite" remain. Indeed, the preface to the 1980 book refers to "the rather small number of daily 'elite' newspapers of the world" (p. xiii). A line-by-line comparison showed some paragraphs omitted, but otherwise an introduction which reads virtually the same as in 1968. (Footnotes 1, 4, 5, 7 and 21 of this paper refer to quotes exactly the same in both books.)

[4]Merrill, op. cit., p. 12; Merrill and Fisher, op. cit., p. 10.

[5]Merrill, op. cit., p. 11; Merrill and Fisher, op. cit., p. 9.

[6]Merrill, op. cit., p. 43. This book (pp. 27-31) cites four surveys: Wilbur Schramm's of 1959, the Saturday Review's of 1961, a panel of U.S. professors in 1964 and an international panel of editors in 1965.

Merrill and Fisher, op. cit. (pp. 20-23), repeats the material from the 1968 book practically word for word, except that it eliminates the Schramm 1959 study. Indeed, although the new book only discusses three studies, it includes the words "the four studies which follow" (p. 20) from the earlier book.

No post-1965 surveys have been added in the 1980 book, e.g. to balance the Western weighting of the evaluators with Third World views. This phrase has been added: "The present authors have talked with dozens of (the) world's editors since 1964--in fact, well into the late 1970s--and have found that these evaluative criteria are still quite valid" (p. 23).

[7]Only five Third World countries (a total of eight newspapers) appear on the "50 best" list: Brazil, Egypt, India, mainland China and Singapore.

[8]Merrill, op. cit., p. 43.

[9]Michael P. Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World (New York: Longman, 1977), p. 24.

[10]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[11]Ibid., p. 109.

[12]A study of elites' total media habits--including their reliance on foreign media--focuses on readers rather than content and differs from this paper's thrust.

[13]Meg Greenfield, "Islam and Us," Newsweek (March 26, 1979), p. 116.

[14]William A Rugh, The Arab Press (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1979). The 18 states are Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

[15]Tom J. McFadden, Daily Journalism in the Arab States (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1953).

[16]Merrill, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[17]Todaro, op. cit., p. 239.

[18]Raphael Patai, The Arab Mind (New York: Scribner's, 1973), chapter 12.

[19]Merrill, Bryan, Alisky, op. cit., p. 302. This custom is also mentioned in Wilbur Schramm, One Day in the World's Press (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[20]Raymond B. Nixon, "Freedom in the World's Press: A Fresh Approach with New Data," Journalism Quarterly 42:1 (winter 1965), pp. 11-12.

[21]Merrill, op. cit., p. 11; Merrill and Fisher, op. cit., p. 9.

[22]According to the two cumulative indexes for Journalism Quarterly, which cover the years 1924-73, only two articles on media in the Arab world appeared: C. Wilton Wynn, "Western Techniques Influence Party Newspaper in Egypt," Journalism Quarterly 25, 4 (December 1948), pp. 391-94, and Baha Abu-Laban, "Factors in Social Control of the Press in Lebanon," Journalism Quarterly 43, 3 (autumn 1966), pp. 510-18. This writer also located another: Adnan Almaney, "Government Control of the Press in the United Arab Republic, 1952-1960," Journalism Quarterly 44, 2 (summer 1972), pp. 340-48.

[23]In 1978, for example, only one article about media in the Arab world appeared in the same journal: Douglas A. Boyd, "A Q-Analysis of Mass Media Usage by Egyptian Elite Groups," Journalism Quarterly 55, 3 (autumn 1978), pp. 501-507.

[24]Todaro, op. cit., chapters 9 and 11.

[25]Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations (New York: Pantheon, 1968), pp. 16-17.

[26]Todaro, op. cit., p. 23.

[27]Ibid., p. 262.

[28]Ibid., p. 241.

TABLE I.

ARABIC, FRENCH AND ENGLISH DAILIES IN THE ARAB WORLD

	Arabic		French		English	
Country	# papers	circ.	# papers	circ.	# papers	circ.
Egypt (1976)	4	1,285,000	2	13,000	1	35,000
Lebanon (1979)	9	83,900	2	35,000	2	9,500
Morocco (1979)	6	107,000	4	135,000	---	
Algeria (1976)	2	75,000	2	190,000	---	
Tunisia (1976)	2	62,000	3	77,000	---	
Iraq (1976)	4	82,000	---		1	3,500
Jordan (1976)	3	39,000	---		1	1,000
Saudi Arabia (1976)	7	95,000	---		2	11,200
Kuwait (1979)	5	107,000	---		2	17,000

Information comes from Rugh, op. cit., Tables 2, 4, 5, 6 , 7 and 8.

TABLE II. TOPICS

	ALGERIA				TUNISIA			
	El Moudjahid (Fr.)		Al Sha'b (Arabic)		La Presse (French)		Al 'Amal (Arabic)	
Topic	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
International politics	1	58.1	1	37.4	1	42.7	1	42.9
Domestic politics	2	31.6	2	28.0	2	23.6	2	35.9
Economics	3	23.3	6	9.5	3	19.9	3	18.6
Military/ defense	4	23.1	4	19.4	6	16.5	4	18.1
Culture/ science/ religion	5	17.6	3	24.4	4	17.2	5	17.8
Police/ crime	6	9.3	8	5.1	8	9.3	7	6.1
Sports/ entertainment	7	6.8	5	11.2	5	16.7	6	11.1
Social services	8	6.0	9	3.3	11	2.2	10	2.3
International aid	9	5.6	10	2.0	10	3.0	9	2.8
Human interest	10	4.8	7	6.8	7	10.5	8	5.9
Disaster	11	3.3	11	1.9	9	3.9	10	2.3
Other		11.0		0		5.2		0.2
	N = 484		N = 644		N = 593		N = 574	

% refers to the percent of articles which mention each topic

TABLE III. THEMES

	A L G E R I A				T U N I S I A			
	El Moudjahid (Fr.)		Al Sha'b (Arabic)		La Presse (French)		Al 'Amal (Arabic)	
Theme	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Pride	1	23.9	2	4.3	1	15.7	1	8.7
Ideologies	2	19.0	3	3.6	8	4.9	8	0.5
Rights	3	11.8	1	4.7	2	8.6	3	6.3
Race/ ethnicity	4	11.6	4	3.4	3	7.9	5	3.8
Aid/ development	5	11.0	6	2.0	6	5.7	2	7.3
Atrocities	6	7.9	8	1.9	4	7.8	5	3.8
Energy/ ecology	7	3.7	5	2.3	7	5.4	6	2.8
Social divisions	8	3.1	10	0.5	10	1.2	9	0.3
Corruption	9	2.5	7	1.7	9	1.9	7	1.7
Super-powers	10	2.1	9	1.4	5	6.4	4	4.5
	N = 484		N = 644		N = 593		N = 574	

% refers to the percent of articles which mention each topic

TABLE IV. SPEARMAN RANK-ORDER CORRELATIONS

	TOPICS		THEMES	
	r	sig.	r	sig.
Within Algeria				
French Arabic	.73	.003	.89	.001
Within Tunisia				
French Arabic	.92	.001	.83	.002
French: cross-national				
Tunisia Algeria	.81	.001	56	.045
Arabic: cross-national				
Tunisia Algeria	.93	.001	.45	.096